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The Cowper Book
1750

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

Kingdom: 2^d day Octob. 25th 1760.

THE

POURTRAICTURE

OF

HIS SACRED

MAJESTIE

Charles 1st, IN HIS

Solitudes and Sufferings.

With a perfect Copie of Prayers
used by His MAJESTY in the
time of His Sufferings:

Delivered to Doctor *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*,
immediately before His Death.

R O M. 8.

More then Conqueror, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Printed in the Yeer, 1649.

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THE CONTENTS.

- 1 **V**pon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.
- 2 Upon the Earl of Strafford's death.
- 3 Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.
- 4 Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.
- 5 Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: and after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.
- 6 Upon His Majesties retirement from Westminster.
- 7 Upon the Queens departure, and absence out of England.
- 8 Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.
- 9 Upon the listing and raising Armies against the King.
- 10 Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navie, and Militia.
- 11 Upon the 19 Propositions first sent to the King; and more afterwards.
- 12 Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in Ireland.
- 13 Upon the Calling of the Scots, and their Coming.
- 14 Upon the Covenant.
- 15 Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the King, to stirre up the people against Him.

The Contents.

- 16 Upon the Ordinance against the Common prayer-Book.
- 17 Of the differences between the King, and the two Houses, in point of Church-government.
- 18 Upon Uxbridge-Treaty, and others Offers made by the King.
- 19 Upon the various events of the War; Victories, and Defeats.
- 20 Upon the Reformations of the Times.
- 21 Upon His Majesties Letters taken, and divulged.
- 22 Upon His Majesties leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.
- 23 Upon the Scots delivering the King to the English; and His Captivity at Holmbie.
- 24 Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.
- 25 Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the King's solitude at Holmbie.
- 26 Upon the Armies surprisall of the King at Holmbie, and the ensuing districtions in the two Houses, the Army, and the Citie.
- 27 To the Prince of Wales.
- 28 Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majesties close Imprisenment in Carisbrook-Castle.





'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'.

I. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My affairs, then by my own choice and inclination ; who have always thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, and best pleasing to my People : And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all publick grievances in Church and State ; I hoped (by My freedom and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared, affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should finde least of them in my self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-ballancing of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to hear with what partiality and popular heat, Elections were carried in many places, yet hoping that the gravity

and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens well-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms :) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament then My self; who knowing best the largeness of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and just contentment, pleased my self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between me and my people.

All jealousies being laid aside, my own and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects; The only temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection. I cared not to lessen my self in some things of my wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not only to oblige my friends, but mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigor or remissness in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved

to have expiated by such Laws and regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amiss in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religions settled, and preserved in Truth, Unitie, and Order then my self; whom it most concerns both in pietie and pollicie; as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiss; and to grant whatever my Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept my self, within those bounds, and not suffered my own Judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; my confidence had less betrayed my self, and my Kingdoms, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.

But our sines being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robbed him of in our prosperitie.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not always satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, Thou givest us cause to repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of my calling this last Parliament, because, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The Miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdomes, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble afflictions, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with our sins.

O thou soveraigne goodnesse and wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsells, over-rule also all our hearts; That the worst things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace turne our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy Warre, so let this War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but trouble some Kingdomes here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my Heart, and in
thy

thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

2. Upon the Earl of Straffords death.

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies; whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud before the brightest merit and integrity.

Though I cannot in my judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that people, more then led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminalness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies. I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the business of that unfortunate Earl: when between my own unsatisfiedness

in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was perswaded by those that I think wished Me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that Inward exactness of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My judgment I thought not, by any clear law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man, than of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniencies of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish, (though unjustly) then the people be displeased or destroyed.* For,

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In all likelihood I could never have suffered, with My people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which My conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankful importunities with so cruel a favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to sign that Bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more then they: He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the vote of My own Conscience I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinful rashness of that business.

To which being in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the best rule of policie is, to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of my Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain a like consent from

from Me, to Acts, wherein my Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* business.

Not that I resolved to have imployed him in My affairs, against the advise of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesness I was better assured, then any man living could be.

Not were the crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for *Justice*, (that is, to have both my self and the two Houses Vote, and doe as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then satisfied that of right they ought so to doe.

And that after-Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation sufficiently tells the world, that some remorse touch
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ed even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoul, for having any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publick miſchiefs) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and man, to all poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that blood which hath been ſhed in this unhappy War; which ſome men will needs charge on me, to eaſe their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall be, more affraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my own

But thou O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. ſince I had not the leaſt temptation of envie, or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo far, have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltineſſe O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſſe.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hard.

*Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with
the*

the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall bee cleane; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learne Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see my frailtie in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans blood to prevent after troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make me to preferre Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to goe against my reason of conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore me to the joy of thy Salvation; and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subiects my will to none, but the light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my Soul; for thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord heare the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Blood, which speakes better things; O make me, and my people, to heare the voice of Joy and Gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

3. *Upon his Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members; was an act which my Enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of my Friends resented it, as a motion arising rather from Passion than Reason, and not guided with such discretion as the touchiness of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legall Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made to embroyl my Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced Writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise

raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick Peace; which to preserve, my calling in question half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows, was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded then either to do Me and my Kingdom right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their innocency, and removed my suspicion: which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark (though I sought by a speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is so false, that, as God best knows, I had no such intent; so none that attended Me could justly gather from any thing I then said or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were my Followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at my coming, then I was unassured of not
having

having some affronts cast upon me, if I had none to be with Me to preserve a reverence to Me: for many people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Me, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that businessse was this,

Those men and their adherents were then look'd upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Laws and Liberties then my Self, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations, no present impunity, or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable Judgement, which shall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions which I foresaw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design:

design : I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance : and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witnesse in heaven, and in my Heart : If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent : or if there were any such wickednesse in my thoughts,

Then let the enemy persecute my soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but look'st beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let not my affliction be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin in that matter : more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privie conspiracie and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servants may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the convening of this Parliament ; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all ; then which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea : so 'tis no less, that he restrains the madness of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the Vulgar to passe all boundaries of Laws and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them : Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to my Self and my Court.

Nor

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an ague, but a quotidian fever, always encreasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, They must be a guard against those fears which some men feared themselves and others withall ; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and less to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confuxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dēstate, at last to command and over-aw the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candor) must be taken away with these Tumults ; By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleased to count them) cast out : By these the obstinacie of men resolved to discharge their Consciences, must be subdued ; by these all factious, seditious, and schismaticall Proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who-ever had most mind to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults : whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberatenesse besitting a Parlia-

Parliament ; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Encouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated and connived at by some ; countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the publick good, then obtain it by such unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens passions and Gods directions seldom agree ; violent designs and motions must have sutable engines : such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselves to Gods means. Force must crowd in what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance : God in his due time will let these see, That those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it ; so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have men of some reputation for parts and piety, to set them on.

That

That which made their rudenesse most formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by my Self, and some of both Houses ; yet no Order for redress could be obtained with any vigour and efficacie, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience ; Others petulancie, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged and abused, while they knew their onely security consisted in vulgar flattery : so insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common Safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any Order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had and used, to convoke those Tumuls as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industry ; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Divil, who *goes about seeking whom he may deceive and devour.*

I confesse, when I found such a deafness, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted ; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour

nor ; nor yet from my self could take place for the due repression of these Tumults; and securing not only Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very persons in the Streets ; I thought My self not bound by my presence to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts ; I hoped by my with-drawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimie in any man for popular terrors to desert his publick station. But I think it a hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea ; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger ; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a war (when I went from *Whitehal* only to redeem my Person & Conscience from violence) God knows I did not think of a war. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former and some after-acts, have so much weakened My self, if I had purposed to engage in a war, which to decline by all means, I denyed my self in so many particulars : This
evident

evident I had then no Army to fly unto, for protection or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any other for a withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not fly so high, as to worry and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is my sole Judg, is my Witness in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My house at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reasonable fair Quarter; I was resolved to bear much, and did so, but I did not think my self bound to prostitute the Majesty of my place and Person, the safety of my Wife and children, to those who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity, most capable of their rudeness and petulancy.

But this business of the Tumults (whereof some have given already an account to God, others yet living, know themselves desperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leave it as it is: Only I beleeve the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those men, and that City, see their sin in the glass of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even lay, they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members

Members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reason, honor, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, than they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to public Councils, turning all to disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England*, (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences, in all likelihood, with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord art my refuge and defence, to thee I may safely fly, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

I looked upon my sins and the sinnes of the people, (which are

are the tumults of our souls against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of Loyalty, Modesty, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatherest the waters into one place, and madest the dryland to appear, and after didst assuage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke those Wasts of the people, and deliver me from the rudenesse and and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech, thee unto us, the freedoms of our Councils and Parliaments; make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason and Religion, and with all order, and gravity to follow it, as it becoms men and Christians; so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of Order and Counsell.

What man cannot or will not repress, thy omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guiltie of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our Passions by reason, to our Errours by Truth; to our Seditions, by Lawes duly executed, and to our Schismes, by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, a City at unity in it selfe.

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Jesus Christs sake, Amen.

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after, setting this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THAT the world might be fully confirmed in my purposes at first, to contribute what in Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience I could, to the happy success of this Parliament, (which had in me no other design, but the general good of my Kingdoms) I willingly passed the Bill for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head, or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a remedy beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient Recesses for the first three yeares: But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfy some mens fears, and compass publike Affairs; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of sitting during the pleasure of the Houses: which amounted, in some mens sense, to as much as the perpetuating of this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out,
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and lock the doore upon all present jealousies, and future mistakes : I confesse, I did not thereby intend to shut my self out of doors, as some men have now requited me.

True, it was an Act unparallell'd by any of my Predecessors ; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that my Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny my self in so high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects wil never think it just or fit that my condition should be worse by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Lawes in their due execution and vigour; wherein my interest lies more then any mans, since by those Laws my Rights as a King, would be preserved, no lesse then my Subjects ; which is all I desired. More then the Law gives me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented me of that settling Act : and many would needs perswade me, I had cause so to do : But I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of honor, that the more

I granted them, the lesse I should have and enjoy with them. I still counted my self undiminished by my largest Concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of my people.

Of which I do not yet despair, but that God will still blese me with increase of it, when men shall have more leisure, and less prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those (as I think) not more Princely then friendly contributions, which I granted toward the perpetuating of their happiness: who are now only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyall and cleared affections of my people will strive to return such retributions of honor and love to me, or my posterity, as may fully compensate both the acts of my confidence, and my sufferings for them; which (God knowes) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to men, that being professedly my Subjects, pretended singular piety, and religious strictness.

The injury of all injuries is, That which some men will needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved occasioner of my own and my Subjects miseries; while (as they confidently, but God knows, falsely divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, indeavoured

by force and open hostility, to undoe what by my Royall assent I had done. Sure, it had argued a very short sign of things, and extreme fatuity of mind in me, so far to bind my owne hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a sword against them. God knowes, though I had then a sense of injuries; yet not such as to thinke them worth vindicating by a war: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure my self by their not using favors with the same candor wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater and more desired advantages against me, then by so unprincely inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Armies, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more then that my self, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a course full of sin, as well as of

of Hazard and Dishonor, for me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine own too, in all probability: if some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sincerity and uprightness of my owne heart in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seem less a Polititian to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God, nor had I any reservations in my own soul when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them, to cast me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces by such a precipitious fall as they intended: whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devill shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by waies of sinfull ingratitude and dishonor, which hazards a soul, worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto perserved me, and made me to see, that it is no strange thing for

men, left to their own passions, either to do much evill themselves, or abuse the over-much goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of the act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable judgment: Only I am sorry other mens eyes should be evil, because mine were good.

To thee, (O my God) do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of men's pretensions, and deceitful darkness of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to my Subjects, and now I need a Heart fitter to suffer much for some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be more comfortable to thine and theirs too; who pretended to aim at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfilling of my best hopes, and my specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised my own; and by settling them, have unsettled my self.

Thus have they requited me evill for good, and harmed for my good will towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which never admits my return to the Port when I set out, nor my making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

'Tis easie for Thee to keep me safe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon me, as to

able to pervert and abuse my acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from me can make others more guilty than my self may be of misusing those many and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, hast conferred on me.

I beseech thee, give me and them such repentance as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happy, as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of me, to reflect with a reforming displeasure upon my offences against Thee.

So, although for my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6. Upon His Majesties retirement from Westminster.

With what unwillingness I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame, more then fear, to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults; who resolved they would take the boldness to demand any thing, and not leave either my self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression my case alone, (though chiefly mine:) For the Lords and

men, left to their own passions, either to do much evill themselves, or abuse the over-much goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful surfeit is the most desperate and incurable disease.

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Nor was this intolerable oppression my case alone, (though chiefly mine:) For the Lords and

Commons might be content to be over-voted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to my judgment ; nor can they include, or carry with them my consent whom they represent not in any kind ; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the Will of God, with my just Rights as a King, and the generall good of my people, I see that as many men they are seldom of one mind ; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate minds, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all : If some mens Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they drank ; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome : so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Counsel, when not reason is used, as to men to perswade ; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to whatever tumultuary patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pity or redemption, that is content to have the rationall soveraignty of his soul and liber-

liberty of his will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom; which cannot be denied me as a King, because it belongs to me as a man, and a Christian, owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above me, as obliging me to consent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my soul, which subjects me only to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer me to use my Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to whatever its subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs infer; while denying me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the liberty of using my Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publike; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever my selfe as King, or the House of Peers with me should, not so much desire as injoyne them to pass. I think my Oath fully discharged in that point, by my governing onely by such Lawes, as my people

with the House of Peers have chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against My conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which My Reason in Justice, Honor, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the only man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left him, to use his own reason, either in person, or by any representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinion, activeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call obstinacy in Me, (which not true Judgment of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My mind;) yet can no man think it other then the badge and method of slavery, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of his error and passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or man, who seriously indeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for reason: The upright-
ness

ness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding ; It a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councils and Proposals. I may in the truth and uprightnesse of my heart, protest before God and men ; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me by the two Houses, further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good conscience consent to them : yea, in many things, where not absolute and morall necessity of reason, but temporary convenience on point of Honor was to be considered. I chose rather to deny my selfe then them ; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can be content to recede much from my own interests, and personall rights, of which I conceive My self to be master : but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Right of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general

nerall good of my Kingdoms : (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain my consent to that, wherein my heart gives my tongue or hand the lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in my conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead, whose embased flexibleness shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and of contrary dictates of any Factions : when instead of reason and publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the particularities, of private wils and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer his Conscience before his Kingdoms.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who, though thou dost justly require us to submit our understandings and wills to thine; whose wisdom and goodness can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so far to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred mysteries and commands, that we should beleve and obey, rather then dispute them: yet dost thou expect from us, only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, against our consciences: and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touch-stone of reason and Laws, which are the rules of Civill Justice; and to declare our con-
sents.

sents to that only which our Judgments approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at present did call me.

My people can witness how far I have been content for their good, to deny my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposall.

O let not the unthankful importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens immoderat demands, ever betray me to that degenerous and unmanly slavery, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my conscience to be against thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and the discharge of my own duty to Reason and Justice.

Make me willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries they press upon me, rather then commit the least sin against my conscience,

Let the just Liberties of my people be (as well they may) preserved in fair and equall waies, without the slavery of my soul.

Thou that hast invested me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject my reason to other mens passions, and designs, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightness of my heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring me at last to peace and happiness with thee, though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

7. *Upon the Queens departure and absence out of England.*

Although I have much cause to be troubled at my Wifes departure from me, and out of my Dominions; yet not her absence, so much, as the scandal of that necessity which drives her away, doth afflict me. That she should be compelled by my own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for her safety; This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in her, from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to her judgment, since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants, who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Laws.

I am sorry my relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage Indians; while their rudeness and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all Vertues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate her for her self. The fault is, that she is my Wife.

All justice then, as well as affection commands me, to study her security, who is only in danger for my sake, I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, & shipwrackt, so she maybe in safe harbor.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of my personall dangers, that I can perish but half, if she be preserved: in whose memory & hopeful posterity, I may yet survive the malice of my enemies, although they should be satiated with my blood.

I must leave her, & them, to the love & Loyalty of my good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, & no less severely to revenge the injuries done to them, by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be (safe for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

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'Tis pity so noble and peacefull a soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of justice with inhumanity and impudence.

Her sympathie with me in my afflictions will make her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights; and assure the envious world, that she loves me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since we do not much blame the unkindness of the Generality and Vulgar: for we see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bounty, have scornfully lifted themselves against us; and those of our own household are become our enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge: who think to satisfy all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can less endure to see, then to sin against their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policy of my enemies is so far veniall, as it was necessary to their designs, by scandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive her out of my Kingdoms; lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their love and loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God and mine owne Heart, whence no malice can banish her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy my self.

Thou, O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time re-unite us on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despiteful and deadly enemies; & prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporal infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our souls eternal good, & make us careful to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great scandall of those my Subjects, which profess the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of her, in any error thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poison of their example.

Let the truth of that Religion I profess, be represented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of humility, loyalty, charity, and peaceableness; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schism, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty,

Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving truths, as Thine; that she may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glass of thy truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, and serve thee in all those holy duties, which most agree with his holy Doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane glory, and greatness in our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honors and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy selfe, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.

MY repulse at Hull seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the loss of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for my self; nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly

hardly containe themselves within the compass of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For it is among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyal undertakers: That bad actions must alwaies be seconded with worse, and rather not begun then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a fault.

This gave me to see cleerly thorough all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smother then oyle, but now I saw they would prove very swords.

Against which I having as yet, no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it my best policy, with patience to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing unbecoming my selfe, or unsutable to that temper, which in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire always more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty

Majestie of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive, keeping in compass all those impotent passions, whose excess injures a man more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwise cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded and avenged my cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and feares to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

First, Sir *John Hotham* unreproched, unthreatened, uncurst by any language or secret imprecation of mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after paies his own and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeiture of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom sure he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it strange that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successfull to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much premerited of them: For Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sin. Nor

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weal. The eldest son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the father, against the father of his Country, root & branch God cuts off in one day.

These Observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was so far from rejoycing in *Hotham's* ruin, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught) being executed by them who first employed him against me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then (I hope many other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sownreness, which some men pretend to in matters of Religion, which so darkens their judgement that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of zeale and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so molt liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him, is, that
after

after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to me, he should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not my Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favor of me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but only prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman: he is now become a notable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so bad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carries always its own vengeance, and an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Employers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans honour, as wilfull expectations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelable characters of infamy, the name & memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Faction of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on their actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure

sure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more then the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavor of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thy own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish.

O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive; who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the Lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, to be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have done amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness, and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offerures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

Upon

9. *Upon the lifting, and raising Armies against*
the KING.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced me to leave *White-hall*: what tumults could not do, an Army must, which is but tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: my recess hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a soul invincible through Gods Grace enabling me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of my Conscience, before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my soul! be of good courage, they confess their known weaknes, as to truth, and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many indignities I have indured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious King, but by my sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that loves his People, and desires their love, ei-
 ther

ther to kill his owne Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civill War in the bowels of my most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after 17. years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some mis-carriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of my selfe either to injuriousnesse or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during my reign have I shed, to satisfie my Lust, Anger, and Covetousnesse? What Widows or Orphants teares can witness against me? the just crie of which must now be avenged with my owne blood? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is my Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion: which (to many men) seemes
C rather

rather the productions of a surfeit of peace, and wantonness of minds, or of private discontent. Ambition and Faction which easily find, or make causes of quarrel) then any reall obstructions of publick Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience, however some men are not willing to beleeve Me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-Hall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults (the not suppressing of which, no account of Reason can be given, (where an orderly guard was granted) but onely to oppresse both Minc and the two Houses Freedome of Declaring and Voting according to every mans Conscience: what obstructions of Justice were further than this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their triall, (warned by my Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, & Judges of their Judges was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedome so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either

durst

darst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard or tried.

Had not the Factious Tumults over-born the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their Justice against them, & made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so dear to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence, according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers, indeed, were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those which were voted and demanded as Delinquents, was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet their suffrages, or presence: the designs of those men who agitated innovations and ruine both in Church & State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousnesse: further then this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses, to whom I wished nothing more, then Safety, Fulnesse and Freedome.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in faire and Parliamentary wayes by free Deliberations, and Votes to gaine the concurrence of the *major* part of Lords & Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their ancient places and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the major part of Lords: Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner was the Bill against Root and Branch brought on by tumultuary Clamors, and schismatical Terrors, which could never passe till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which partiality, while in all Reason, Justice and Religion, my conscience forbids me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard my owne and my Kingdoms ruine, by my Defence: or prostrate my conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks or pretends, they cannot do God & the Church a greater service, then utterly to destroy what

Primitive, Apostolicall, and anciently Universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgments bind them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it : mine much more : who, besides the grounds I have in my judgment, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon my Conscience to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church : to which most sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most unbeseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving my consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can befall me : inasmuch as the least sin hath more evil in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this point, with my consent, & sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousness, ambition, and revenge, I beleeve they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was don with a firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their Rights & Honor for my sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot add my consent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have

often offered to all fit regulations) have so much further tie upon my conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolical, & so very sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed; when what is only of civil Favor, and priviledge of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of justice and authority of Parliament: when I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being only such as Justice, Reason and Religion had made in my own and other mens consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine, or others with drawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load me with all the envie & injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably & Effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedome, be-
coming

coming such a Senate, have come & discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I desired by my withdrawing, and had much more willingly; and speedily returned then I retired; this being my necessity driving, the other my choise desiring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same judgment and constancy, which I carried with me, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited Me to come, & grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intollerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drove my self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loth to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to prosecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the injuries of the tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them, there was nothing of consequence offered

red to me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was argued, the abolition of Episcopal & the establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded, were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by me, and only to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequentiall, and accessary, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affaires between us, when they first raised an Army, with this design, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent: and this truth, as to my conscience, (who was, God knows, as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eie of the world from having any preparations for one) I find that comfort that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on my side, I do not think my innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned: Nor am I without that integrity, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse my praier to him.

For thou, O Lord, see'st clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice:
Thy

Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soule, and have not set thee before their eyes.

Consider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For thou knowest, I had no passion, designe, or preparation to embroil my Kingdoms in a Civill War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse, how oft I have deplored and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my people.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me, but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would almost make me suspect my owne innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of mine enemies, and redeem my people from this miserable War; since thou, O Lord, knowest my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloody and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the injoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Causes.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in war.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy selfe, because of the rage of mine enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold

them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is, either to destroy my Person, or force my Judgment, and to make me renge my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choice and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men: by denying them (though their mercie be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against my Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy me, then thou shouldst damn me.

Be thou ever the defence of my soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satisfie mine Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But o let the blood of me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will find not only a temporarie expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction, both for my sins, and the sins of my People, whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my death, O remember thy great mercies to wards them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what to do.

10. Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.

HOW untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civil War, the eies that onely pitie Me, and the Loyall hearts that durst only pray for Me, at the first, might witness, which yet appear not so many on my side, as there were men in Arms listed against

against Me : My unpreparednesse for a War may well dis-hearten those that would help Me : while it argues (truly) My unwillingnesse to fight : yet it testifies for Me, that I am set on the defensive part : having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My self, or to preserve what is Mine own from their proreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Me, and surprisals of My strength. Such as are not for them, yet dare not be for Me : so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrors. I beleeve My innocencie and unpreparednesse to assert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guiltie in their esteem : who would not so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Arms left Me, were those onely which the ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Praiers & Tears. These may serve a good mans turn, if not to conquer as a souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing My Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the *Militia*, is so far best for Me, that it may drive Me from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast My selfe into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisal of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the *Militia*, so much in reference to my own protection, as my people.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve me, I am above my own, what I want in the hands of force and power, I have in the wings of faith and prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to my friends, and a terror to my enemies, by being unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to me the new modelling of Sovereignty & Kingship, as without any reality of power, so without any necessity of subjection and obedience; That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomet's* Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Privileges of the two Houses, in an airy imagination of Regality.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them,
since

since they cannot well digest it; Sovereigne power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the stomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their fears, & importunities, both to secure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies to gain the peace of all, by depriving my self of a sole power to help or hurt any: yielding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no less than the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all jealousies in them, of me, and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to my self: I desire not to be safer then I wish them & my People: If I had the sole actual disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my people, further then they protected me, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutual. I would not defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evil merits & designs, will needs perswade the world, That none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his flock. Miserable experience hath taught my subjects since power hath been wrested from me, and imployed against me & them: that neither can be safe if both be not in such a way as the Law hath entrusted the publick safety & welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine as to the
exerc-

exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men : which seem to be enemies not to me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary Rights, in point of power, to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honor and Justice due to my Successors, forbid me to yeeld to such a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no lesse then justice and honor) should have forbid them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to eclipse my own beams, to satisfie their fears, who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly power, wherewith God and the Lawes have invested me : yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings, whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of mine, which indeed, would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to my Subjects : whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future : so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government : which as it makes a shew to the people to have more
eyes

eyes to fote-see; so they will find it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, then any thing of perfection beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily where men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow my inforced darkness and eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light from me) they will at length more esteem and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by my receding so much from the use of my Right in the power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for my peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the inforced perjury, (if so it may seem) who compell me to take this new and strange way of discharging my trust, by seeming to desert it; of protecting my Subjects by exposing my self to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill War and advantages of power cannot be affected but by some side yeelding, to which the greatest love of the publike Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection, arising from a good conscience,

science, doth more invite me, then can be expected from other mens fears ; which arising from the injustice of the actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authour upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and *Militia*, which yet are but weak defences against the strokes of divine vengeance, which wil overtake: or of mens own consciences which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For my self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall necessity is pleased to take from me, in order to my peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for me : and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compensate to me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himself can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all defence of Arms and *Militia*, all refuge by land, of Forts and Castles, all flight by sea in my Ships and Navie : yea though they study to rob me of the hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of my owne innocency, or Gods mercie, or obstruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I fly for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I will have more with me, then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee : in the loss of all, be thou more than all to me : Make hast to succour me, thou that never failest

failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are towards thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whose Judgments oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to be nothing that thou maist be all.

Thou hast taught me that no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on everie side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glorie of my distresse.

O let thy mercie have the glorie of my deliverance from them that persecute my soul.

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glorie, who art thy subject, and justly maicst thou by my own subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glorie.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and only refuge! Let not mine enemies say, there is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnes, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppress me, from my deadly enemies that compass me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnes of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

II. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the
KING ; and more afterwards.

Although there be many things, they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own Safety, and My Peoples Peace : which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save only the parting with My Conscience and Honor. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as My Enemies can make or wish Me.

Somethings here propounded to Me have been offered by Me : Others are easily granted : The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me with the point of the Sword : nor urged with the injurics of a War : when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conscience : 'tis strange there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon My soule.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offered to Me, by the way of grateful exchange of Honor ; or any requitall for those favors I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot aske more then I can give, may I but reserve to my self the incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience ; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repaire or requite.

Some

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me, and while I have any mastery of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeelding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me: but the love of Truth, and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policy are at some time to be denied to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing, and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind my self to a generall and implicate consent, to whatever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King by his own Subjects: any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as He doth in place and power.

This

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not only to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistins* might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denyall, seems an arrogancy, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyall way in petitioning; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferiority, and obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to consent, or dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another hath not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to me, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honor as a Sovereigne King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extreme injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to aske, whose minds may be as differing from mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last, God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguish'd, making me their Sovereign, and them my Subjects:

whole

whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary Impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in my soule, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their owne and others sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithful in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly

out my own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehū's*: and whose forwardnessto ascend the Throne of Supremacy, pretends more of *Phaëton* then of *Phœbus*: God divert the *Omen* if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours: called to be my Counsellors, not Dictators: Their summons extend to recommend their Advice, not to command my Dutie.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me, I expected either some good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evill customes preterlegall, and abuses personall had been to be removed: or some injuries done by my selfe, and others, to the Common-weal were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendered to me, wherein the advantage of my Crown being considered by them, might fairly induce me to condescend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind me (in the first part) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve my people according to my place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still pre-
serve

serve the foundation and essentials of Government in both: not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practice of Christian Churches, the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justify the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-joynted, which are to be restored, of any right invaded, or any justice to be unobstructed, of any compensations to be made, of any impartiall Reformation to be granted: To all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policie, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at anie time, in which either great novelty, or difficultie, I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as Factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so punishable by
the

the Laws have now the confidence by vulgar clamors, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themselves, in their vanities, noveltie, and confusion; but also abolition of the Laws against them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible noveltie of some Propositions, there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single, and apart did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the Institution, and the Corruption, the Government, and the Misgovernment, the Primitive Patterns, and the Aberra-

aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not at all, upon so little, or so Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon to renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their Reforming progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (beleeving that all is good, which is guilded with shewes of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement to be drawn into the common sewer or streame of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abatement from those popular clamors and tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in my judgment, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers; Though the second should prevaile against my Person, yet that first shall never overcome me further then I see cause; for, I look not at their number and power, so much as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

D

Had

Had the two Houses first sued out their liberty, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumult (which can be no other then the Hounds that attend the cry and hollow of those men, who hunt after factions and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did my Judgement tell Me, that the propositions sent to Me were the Results of the major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect my Own judgement, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think there are wise men among them: and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want, 'tis fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such compleatness and inerrability as to exclude my Self; since none of them hath that part to act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve, as my Self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of some Propositions is not more evident to me then this is.

That

That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them favour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in my Two last famous Predecessours da's heaved ar, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am sure, was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; how-ever it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and effect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgment

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countries; some thirsting after nothing more then a passionate revenge of what-ever displeasure they had conceived against Me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No less doth Reason, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me to chew such morsels before I let them down; If the straitness of my Conscience will not

give me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and injustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrell with me, then for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet, by Gods help, I am resolved, That nothing of passion or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgment, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honor and Religion perswade me to be, for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People but I will never for fear, or flatterie gratifie any Faction, how potent soever: for this were to nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free and faithfull counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the councill of that mighty Counsellor who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy servant, first with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason and justice, in my understanding: then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppressions

pressions of my enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in my Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse then a man; and not dare to say, yea, or nay, as I see cause, which freedom is not denyed to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others.

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality and injustice, they deny that freedom to me their King; which Thou hast given to all men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves, while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals; which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more intangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before Me.

Let not My own frowfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men: if I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of this world foolishnes, and takest in their own devises, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my Kingdoms generall good, and my own souls salvation; and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The less wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of covetise, or humor; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publick of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to be for the publick good, of whose affections to Me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make me careful of those solemn Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publick, either for woe or weal.

The less others consider what they ask, make Me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though mine own, and my peoples pressures are grievous, and Peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my Conscience; whereof thou O Lord onely art deservedly more Master than my self.

12. Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in Ireland.

THE Commotions in Ireland were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed that Sea of blood, which hath there bin cruelly & barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Author or Instigator of its effusion. It

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me ; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred ^{by} to me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to my self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be beleev-
ed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish
Rebels did, was done with my privitie (at least)
if not by my Commission : But these knew too
well, that it is no news for some of my Subjects
to fight not only without my Commission, but
against my Command, and Person too, yet all
the while to pretend, they fight by my Autho-
ritie, and for my safety.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to al-
ledge for their imitation against those whose
blame must needs be the greater, by how much
Protestant Principles are more against all Re-
bellion against Princes, then those of Papists.
Nor wil the goodnes of mens intentions excuse
the scandal, and contagion of their examples.

But who ever fail of their Dutie toward me,
I must bear the blame; this honour my enemies
have alwayes done me, to think moderate in-
juries not proportionate to me, nor competent
trials, either of my patience under them or my
pardon of them.

Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; charging Me not only with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of loss & dishonor by what is committed; wherby, (in all policy, reason and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world, the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies, as much as some mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do wel but in evil times; nor so cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England* was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fear of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion a people prone enough to break out into all exorbi-
tant

tant violence, both by some principles of their Religion, and the naturall desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparantly threatned by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with truth wash my hands in innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had to see it spread so far, and make such waste: and this in a time when distractions and jealousies here in *England* made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those who were every day inhumanely butchered in Ireland: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civill Dissentions and Jealousies which in England some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been less affected with Irelands' sad estate then my self; I offered to go my Self in person upon that Expedition: But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to shoot at any mark here less then my Self; or that any should have

the glory of my destruction but themselves Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruin had been so great, nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either hindered the speedy suppressing of it by Domestic Dissentions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatening all extremities, not onely to the known Heads and chiefe incendiaries, but even to the whole Community of that Nation; resolving to destroy Root and Branch, men women and children; without any regard to those usuall pleas for mercy which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to bear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecility for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous (and I think) un-Evangelicall zeal is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would, go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse and neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacob's* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all extremitities, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies,

dies; such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their submission, & our protection of them, from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmness; and had rather be cruel then counted cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable succors of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred and over-borne with numbers of now desperate Enemies was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, & generally advised by the chief of the Protestant party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probability (unless by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that business, by persons of Honor and Integrity, that so I might neither encourage the Rebels Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in my reputa-

Reputation and Honour; because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety: If during the time of that Cessation, some men had the grace to have laid *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart; & laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood then to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false, and evil, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try my patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to my own Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a King: I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproches, which issue out of some mens mouths & hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparks do out of a furnace: Much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of of wickednesse are loth to beleieve any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill : If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience as bad as my worst enemies can fasly say. And I hope I shall still do better then they desire, or deserve I should.

I beleeeve it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies please to say, or think) I look upon, as that of my other kingdoms, exhausted out of my own veins : no man being so much weakened by it as my Self: And I hope, though mens unsatiabie cruelties never wil, yet the Mercy of God will at length say to his Justice, *It is enough*; and command the sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self : his mercifull Justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure : the abatement of our sins, not the desolation of these Nations.

O my God, let these infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion ; as if we could not be Christians unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practised in charity, thou hast suffered a spirit of Error and bitterness, of murvall and mortall hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let

Let our Repentance be our recoverie, as our great sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented in the glass of thy judgment; for thou never punishest sinall failings with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sins, and remove thy judgments which are very many, and very heauie.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, then thy judgments; and I make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent Consciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdoms.

In the Sea of our Saviours blood drown our sins, and through this red Sea of our own blood, bring us at last to a state of piety, peace and plenty.

As my publique Relations to all, make Me share in all My Subjects sufferings; so give Me such a pious sence of the n, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grate to heap charitable coales of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel Zeale hath kindled, or hindered the quenching of those flames which have so much wasted My three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And lead those in the wayes of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive Principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good Service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised or fomented those cruell and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious: Thou that hadst pity on NINEVEH for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous
and

and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, Whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the fornace of thy severe justice, a Posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deale with Me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the innocency of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamities; if I have not earnestly studied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody distractions; then let thy hand be against me, and my Fathershouse. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to implicate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witness my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knowest right well; But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies: spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. Upon the calling in of the SCOTTS,
and their Comming.

THE *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many to prefer the desires of that party, before My own interest and honor. But, I see, Royall bounty

bountie emboldens some men to ask , and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages, wherein I shal ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy , make me repent of what I granted them for the publique good : I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that Party into *England*, with an Army only to conforme this Church to their late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable , as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand, they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice, I leave to their Consciences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crossness of grain being objected here , as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up, as the only just reformation, and settling of Government and Discipline in Churches , to go on so smoothly here, as it
 ● might

might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious discretion, for any forraign State or Church to prescribe such medicins only for others, which themselves have used, rather successfully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations: That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out Religious Reformations by the sword, as to polish them by fair & equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force, but reason ought to convince.

But their design now seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, That the *English* Clergy must conform to the *Scots* pattern before ever they could be heard, what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too; who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Scholars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gain most on mens Judgments and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwaies bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion & practice, only because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers as sheep, into the common fold of Presbyterie, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbyterie were approved to be the only Institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I beleeve it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commission by the Sword, to set it up
in

both in any of my Kingdoms, without my consent.
 such What respect and obedience Christ and his
 too; Apostles payd to the chief governors of States,
 ints where they lived, is very cleer in the Gospel:
 iers but that he, or they ever commanded to set up
 ting such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way
 as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very
 ain disputable.

ces, If Presbyterie in such a Supremacy be an in-
 ce, stitution of Christ; sure it differs from all o-
 l is thers: and is the first and only point of Chri-
 ra- tianity, that was to be planted and watered
 ng with so much Christian blood; whose effusions
 d- run in a stream so contrary to that of the Pri-
 to mitive planters, both of Christianiity and Epit-
 - copacy, which was with patient shedding of
 t their own blood, not violently drawing other
 t mens: sure there is too much of Man in it, to
 have much of Christ; none of whose instituti-
 ons were carried on, or begun with the temp-
 s tations of Covetousness or Ambition, of both
 which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point,
 which those *Scots* had by an Army or Com-
 missioners to move Me with, by their many
 Solemn obtestations, and pious threatnings, but
 only this, to represent to me the wonderful ne-
 cessity of setting up their Presbytery in *Eng-
 land*, to avoid the further miseries of a War,
 which some men chiefly on this design at first
 had begun, & now further engaged themselves
 to continue.

What

What hinders that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbitery seeks to suppress, & render odious under their names: when wise & learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism, and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universal way of the Church-government, and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I see more Rational and Religious motives, then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapfacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good: which I think my self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine Own: and the Salvation of mens Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches

Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, & fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved, both mine own and other mens Consciencs by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, w^{ch} are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or settle my Religion, nor any mans else who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions: especially those that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scotts* Armies coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondred how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance, who so much pretended Gods cause to the people, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition, my Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles and Cities by Land.

But I finde that men jealous of the Justifiableness of their doings, and designs before God,

God, never thinke they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, 'seem it never so plausible to the people; what cannot be justified in Law, and Religion, had need to be fortified with power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance; others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one party thought to rivet to a settlednes by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects, and contemns; at once, despising the Kirk-government, & discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable, more then charitable assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a far cheaper rate, the Truth & happines of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advice in a full & free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, & mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the filmes and pretentions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs: in vaine do men hope to build their Piety on the Ruines of loyalty. Nor can those considerations or designs be

be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of
their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a
quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never de-
serted me, so I cannot think that the most are
gone so far from me, in a prodigality of their
love and respects towards me, as to make me
despair of their return; when besides the
bonds of Nature and Conscience which they
have to me, all Reason and true Policy will
teach them, That their chiefest interest consists
in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ser-
viceableness to any Party of the People, to a
neglect and betraying of my Safety and Honor
for their own advantages: However the lesse
cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall
apply my Self to God.

*The troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou
me out of my distresse.*

*Lord, direct thy Servant in the waies of thy pious simplici-
ty, which is the best policy.*

*Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so
much of the Serpents Subtily, that they forget the Doves In-
nocency.*

*Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against
my Soul, to the betraying of my Conscience, and Honour.*

*Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both
Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah and Israel, to restore
David with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconstancy
and eagernesse pursue Him.*

*Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightness in Me, and I
shall not despair of My Subjects affections returning towards
Me,*

Then

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebb, & retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O my God, I trust in thee, let me not be ashamed: let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause: let them be turned back that persecute my Soul.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve me: for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

14. Upon the Covenant.

THe Presbyterian Scots are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter or rase Episcopacy: This they make the grand evil Spirit, which with other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, & terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a charm & exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it; Presbytery like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived

lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair and Authority (though Laymen go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to my self with verie dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no less, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear morall necessity; but verie disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgment, and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters only probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon people must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawful, damnable: and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessarie duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an innovating Oath and Covenant, with

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that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*: since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politike and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the popularity fast to their parties under the terror of Perjury: whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared party, without my consent, and without any like power or president from Gods or mans Laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all my Subjects consciences both to God and me.

Yea, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charity to think that the chiefe end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdomes in peace: To other then such ends and means they cannot think themselves ingaged; nor will those that have any true touches of conscience endeavor to carry on the best designs, (much less such

as are, and will bee daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawful means, under that title of the Covenant: unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, & unauthorized novelties, before their known & sworn duties which are indispensable both to God & my self.

I am prone to beleeve and hope, that many who took the Covenant are yet firm to this judgment, That such later Vowes, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings and characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common road, used in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more studied and elaborate, then, when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws, which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wrested by secret steps, and less sensible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humors of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and withs will hold mens Consciences no longer then force attends and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himself of those ties, which,

not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terror of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vain, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they find the Imposers really aiming to dissolve or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegall waies seldome or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions & reservations, so as they cross not their, though chief, Design which is laid against the Church and me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; so little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love me and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yeild more to prevent that imminent violence

violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall clauses may (perhaps) somewhat relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may in their Places and Callings*, and according to the Word of God: for, these indeed carrie no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the generall; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashness of taking it: which must needs then appear, when, besides the want of a full and lawful Authority at first to enjoin it, it shal actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified & pretended: I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, & Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, my self, or the publike peace: Against which, no mans lawfull calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partial advice of a few Divines, (of so soft & servile tempers, as disposed

them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of Learning and Candor at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward then my self to carry on all due Reformatiōs, with mature judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advice) be, by Gods Word, and right reason, convinced to be amiss, I have offered more then ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequēle of some mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacie into Presbytery, and the robbing of the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights then the Bishops, and Church-men. These, as the fattest Dear, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleratiō: Thus *Naboth's Vineyard* made him the onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compasse, by which
 Factionous

Faction's men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, as held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown with my Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of my Predecessors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive me or mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to do: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red Sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either it, or him, who esteems it his greatest title to be called, and his chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church*, both in its true Faith and its just fruitions; equally abhorring *Sacrilege* and *Apostacie*.

I had rather live as my Predecessor *Henry 3.* sometime did, on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of the Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the people to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, and People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the Taition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which wil inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no less then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions & remedies are in our own power; it being every mans sin not to avoid the one & not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other, under the pretence

pretence of publike Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse: I pray God neither I, nor mine, may be accessory to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I address my prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashness of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Consciences: From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacrilege under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious & sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand & curse to all posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treasures are Exhausted, my Revenues Diminished, and my Debts increased, yet never suffer me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations: lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on my Throne and Conscience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publike, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon

upon us: the Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them: and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and relief of the Poore: That thy Priests may be clothed with righteousness, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches Bread to Dogs: rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them nor theirs: Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottenness to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together against the Church and State, and the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

25. Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the King, to stirre up the People against Him.

IF I had not My owne Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth, and
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by Jealousies to supply the defect of real causes, which might seem to justify so unjust Engagements against Me:

And indeed, the worst effects of open hostility come short of these designs: For, I can more willingly lose my Crownes, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdomes so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with my life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not only, not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendered to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more than their owne malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared me, both to do him better service, and my people more good than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of my people to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly

sibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The sence of the Injuries done to My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My self; our welfares being inseparable; in this only they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves, & me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forraign Enemies I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children deare to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquility, I could willingly be the *Jehonah*; If I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the storm of their miseries would be rather increased than allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruin then rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happiness; If it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonorably to betray My own just Rights
and

and Sovereignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My enemies; between whose malice, & other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, so malicious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then my own Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evill manners, and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandalls which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shal ere long be quite blasted by
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the breath of that same furnace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy; and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honor.

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect, and search My owne Innocency; then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of Me, and not to blaspheme him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious towards God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, then forsake Me.

Nor is it strange, that so religious Pretensions as were used against Me, should be to many well-minded men, a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so
much

much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize Me & Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancy of My Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that Religion, whose judicious & solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to those well-tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession & Constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the most calme, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against My Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of duty, Allegiance, and subjection: The first they owe as men, and Christians, to God; the second, they owe to Me in Common, as their KING; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the community of relations, either to Parents or to Princes; And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions.

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to inforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more then is lawful for any King, in such exigents, to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, then many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise

practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent & unreasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects when I was disputed with by sword points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no less then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evil Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsells but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsell, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honour, as a King; making their counsells more like a drench that must be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errors and frailties My self, or My Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even welldred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsells, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought

brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me, or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure myself, out of a zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of al my, either Retractions, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those now (so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort & reward of their former pretended Persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their designs, was, the noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest liberty be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy my self; So farr am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted me so prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their ambitious and Covetous designs over the ruins of the Church and State, Brince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their ornament & protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth his rule and direction, losing justly his safety while he seeks an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best inform my Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardiness to use their King with so severe restraints; against all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather perish, then com-

complain to those, who want nothing to com-
pleat their mirth, and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderness (at-
tended with humility and meeknesse, not with
proud & arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch
every egge of different opinion to a Faction or
Schisme) I have oft declared, how little I desire
My Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods
Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens
Consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints
upon men, as commands them to be subject for
Conscience sake, giving no men liberty to break
the Law established, further then with meek-
nesse and patience, they are content to suffer
the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the
publick Peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after Novel-
ties, others despair to relieve the necessities of
their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in
peaceable times, (distrusting Gods provi-
dence, as well as their own merits) were the
secret (but principall) impulsives to these po-
pular Commotions, by which Subjects have
been perswaded to expend much of those
plentifull Estates they got, and enjoyed under
My Government, in peaceable times; which
yet must now be blasted with all the odious
reproaches, which impotent malice can invent;
and My self exposed to all those contempts,
which may most diminish the Majesty of a King,
and encrease the ungratefull insolencies of My
people.

For

For Mine Honour, I am well assured, that as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so My reputation shall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those feriall birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the furnace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knowes but the just and mercifull God will do Me good; for some mens hard, false, and evill speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) then those men do, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speake evill of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those, who are honoured with the name of Gods.*

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing God should not Honour their KING.

They will easily contemn such shadowes of God,

God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils be able to hide the shining of My face while God gives Me a heart frequently & humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majesty.

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My dishonor, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among Lions, among them that are set on fire; even the sons of men; whose teeth are spears and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against Me are sworn together.

O My God, how long shall the sons of men turn My glory into shame? How long shall they love vanity and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest My enemies prevail against Me, and lay My honor in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies; the Lord will abhor both the blood thirsty and deceitfull man.

Make My righteousness to appear as the light, and Mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not My silence to betray Mine innocence, nor My displeasure My patience; That after My Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile againe; and being cursed by them, I may bless them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimci's tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgement on David he might seem to justify his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the re-
ward

ward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refuse, and put to silence their evil-speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me David's patience, and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshakeh's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16. Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Booke.

IT is no news to have all innovations ushered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, must needs undo whatever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godliness.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converse with the divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People then to tell them, They served God amiss in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Forms of constant Prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluencies: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could a-

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gainst

gainst it especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholesome words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any reason why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of prayer, since he prayes to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for,
our daily bread.

Some

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not only disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemne the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patterne of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions, or in publike Prayer, or in any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldness and Barrenness: nor are men in those novelties less subject to formall and superficiall tempers (as to their hearts) then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary variety: and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of constancy: Nor are constant Forms of Prayer more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, then un-premeditated and confused variety to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publike, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the peoples affections to the present

occasions: yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite juttle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men: such as the Composers of the Service-Book were: who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation and concurrent advise, such Forms of Prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) that any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have: which, that they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew, the affectations, emptiness, impertinencie, rudeness, confusions, flatness, levity, obscuritie, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the senseless, and oft times blasphemous expressions (all these burthened with a most tedious and intollerable length) do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say; in things of so sacred a nature before God and the Church, after so ridiculous,

long, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall administrations, and the like, which are still the same: Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of publick composure: or else they must every time affect new expressions when the subject is the same: which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatness, order, and gravity, becomming those duties: which by this means are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both for judgment and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick composure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schismes, disorders and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are

already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abet those innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juggle out the publique Liturgy.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-Book; or refused to use it, cryed out of the rigour of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their Consciences in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgie into a Directorie, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity, as not to suffer without penalty, any to use the Common-Prayer-Booke publicly, although their consciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conforme to their illegall novelties,
then

then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humors most pretended conscientious liberties, which freedom with much regret they now allow to me, and my Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve me, whose abilities even in their extemporary way comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as by Lawes, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to displease some Faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men; not only for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, then those are, whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say, *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of me in their own forms, instead of praying for me.

I wish their Repentance may be their only punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of sound and wholesome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor despisest renewed affections joyed to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our Petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast so where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of error consists in novelty and variety, as truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order,
under.

under this fallacy, That Constancy is the cause of Fortitude.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know, that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind Zeal, and over-bold Devotion.

17. *Of the differences between the King and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.*

TOaching the Government of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependence on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keyes of the peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in, or shut out both peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as King) intrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church

and State; I see no reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I incline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion: wherein both my judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other, the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practise of all the Christian Churches; till of late yeers, the tumultuariness of people, or the factiousness and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousness of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under the specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to serve their turnes, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They must give me leave, having none of their temptations to invite me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estate) not to believe their pretended grounds.

grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing all unbiassed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles, and their immediate Successors, the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason and charity be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500. years, not one example can be produced of any settled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishops above them, under whose Jurisdiction and Government they were.

Whose constant and universall practice agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the settling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of well-being, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to over-see both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution: which to me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to
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the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the setting of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as President Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Bishops*; as to the over-sight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that special dignity which had extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, untill use; (the great arbitrator of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary, and constant

constant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whose name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that special authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancie, to those, who were by Apostolicall propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*, whose special power is not more clearly set down in thole Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claim, as from divine right) then are the characters of those perillous times, and those men that make them such, who not enduring sound doctrine, and clear testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usters, against true Episcopacie: who, if they be not Traitors and Boasters, yet they seem to be verie covetous, headie, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godliness.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancie and authoritie of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie:

fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publike) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiasticall examples, whereon my judgment was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or Function which fixed me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to me, as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and my dearest relations with my Kingdomes have sustained and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrell.

And not only in Religion, of which, Scripture is the best rule, and the Churches universall practice the best Commentarie, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity, then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more beleieve, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed severall orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government
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of his Church, among whom the Jewish Priests should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the principles of schisme and division as other men: For preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied so many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes; or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which authority they constantly used and enjoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joint counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit meanes to avoid those Errors, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man: also to avoid Tyrannie, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a meanes to take away that burden and odium of affaires, which may lie too heaveie on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame
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of Government which is paternal, not Magisterial ; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function ; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those abilities wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it : It is well known, I have endeavoured to satisfie my Self in what the chief Patrons for other waies can say against this, or for theirs : And I find they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason ; so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late Reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affaires rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity : I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation : And to those Churches at this day,

day, who governed by Bishops in all the Christiana world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in my three Kingdoms lately governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handful of some Protestants) so great a scandal in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errors in some point of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholike, Primitive, and Apostolicall: So far, as never Schismatics, nor Hereticks, (except those Arians) have strayed from the Unitie, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and submission to this government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of my judgment; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning & integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their Consciences; So that
their

their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against my consent, have not onely quite cried downe the Government by Bishops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegall stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the streame of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements: of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots Army* coming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it selfe, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appeare the greatest Enemies to, and Betrayers of their owne interest: for Presbyterie is never so considerable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and all Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poore carkasse they are, when parted from the influence of
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that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firme to primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, if I can hinder it. Discretion without passion might easily reform, what ever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhorre.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which My Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Churchmen; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-government; also enablements to workes of Charity and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates: poverty and meanness exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners, which persecuting times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and best able
to

to use them : if at my time any judgment of men failed, my good intention made my error veniall ; And some Bishops, I am sure , I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny : But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governors, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect: which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Ministers equall : and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the people.

This for my judgment touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any design or passion with the least perverting of truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force me their King and Sovereign, as some men have indeavored to do, against all these grounds of my judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest pretender of them desires not more than I do, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture : of which I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches

Churches in their infancy & solitude, when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey : or els they deny these most evident truths, that the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted, and that, Government being necessary for the Churches well-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority they had above others: which could not end with their persons, since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy, and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so Blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons, or Primitive patterns, they supply with violence and oppression : wherein some mens zeale for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on worke to eat up Episcopacy : which (however other men esteem) to me is no less sin than sacriledge, or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church & Prophets, through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to my particular ingagement

ment above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with Judgement break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am sworn; how can any man that wisheth not my damnation, perswade me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of sacrilege and perjury? besides the many personall injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their estates, as any, who seek to deprive them, and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their estates and lively-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell me, that my Coronation Oath binds me to consent to whatsoever they shall propound to me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedom which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seem so tender in their Votes: yet at the same time these men will needs perswade me, That I must, and ought to dispense with, and roundly break that part of
my

my Oath, which binds me (agreeable to the best light and reason I have) to maintaine the Government and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange my lot should be valid in that part, which both my Self, and all men in their owne case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our souls: yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think my Self justly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by som mens ambitious covetousnesse, and sacrilegious cruelty, torturing (with me) both Church and State, in civill dissentions, till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in my soul abhorre, as many waies highly against Reason, Justice and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give my consent: yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the Scots in point of Church-government, be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for me, to consent to the like in my other Kingdoms: For it should be considered that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this: for what I think in
my

my judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shal impute my yeilding to them, as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it: but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse: I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath my yeilding to them been so happy and successfull as to encourage me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to meekness, Justice, Order, Charity and Loyalty, in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect my judgment to be biased, or fore-stalled with some prejudice & wontedness of opinion: but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new waies of Government.

Nor can I find that in any reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up, & obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in my Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make me believe either Presbytery or independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Episcopacy in its right Constitution.

The abuses of which deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to primitive and uniform antiquity, then

then to complice with divided noveltie.

A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober people; so as Church-affairs should be managed neither with tyrannie, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of my Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserve me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightness and tenderness, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence to be over-born against my Conscience.

Arise O Lord, maintain thine own Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church, which some men have wounded and robbed; others pass by without regard, either to pity or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to be Master of my other Rights as a King, yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve from sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their finnes and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Boar, and

subtill Foxes, to wast and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven solong watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian King in this Kingdom, who should consent to the Oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errours I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meekness, then expose their Persons and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of the Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of Errours, Schismes, and Disorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnific thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

18. Upon Uxbridge-Treaty, and other Offers made by the King.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having a greater consideration

tion of my Reason, then my Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither my self, nor others should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, to prevent them with expresses of my desires, and even importunities to treat: It being an Office not only of humanity, rather to use reason, then force; but also of Christianity, to *sceke peace and ensue it.*

As I am verie unwillingly compelled to defend my self with Arms: so I very willingly imbraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the sword being very dubious, and of a civill War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any success I had ever enhaunce with me the price of peace, as earnestly desired by me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve, was mine honor, and my conscience; the one I could not part with as a King, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy compofure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the war had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as reason, honour, and conscience, would give me

leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My peoples happiness, or of such consequence as in the least kind to have hindred My Subjects either security, or prosperity: for they better injoyed both many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent engagements, then to engage what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to injoy in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of conscience upon Me, yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse or superstition had not engaged more, then any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true piety: I only sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government, and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection,

as also to the primitive Apostolicall pattern, and the practise of the Universall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, only to satisfie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then Mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honor, then crosse some mens factious humors.

God knowes, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the unsuccessfullnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I indeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to My people, then the preservation of My Crowns to My Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings, as arguments of feeblenesse, & glory most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was always to ask something, which in reason and honor must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of war,

endeavouring first to make Me destroy My self by dishonorable Concessions, that so they might have the less to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the public peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set Me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: though I never thought it any sign of true valor to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most part preface the unsuccessfulness of any Treaty, was some mens unwillingness to treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonableness they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellors.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the sword a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though peace were
for

for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained : what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy self : who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them ; yet aboundest in mercy to save : soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and persuade us to accept of peace with thy selfe, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for peace, but when I speake thereof, they make them ready to war.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men ; and in Religion, as Christians : and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee : and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of War we have deserved, and bestow upon us that peace, which only Christ our Peacemaker can merit.

19. *Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations : sometimes God was pleased to try Me with victory, by working My enemies, that I might know how with moderation and

thanks to own, and use his power, who is only the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those that fought against me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part he let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause: and those that were with me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them and me: Nor were my enemies less punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oft times over-balance the Justice of publick engagements; nor doth God account everie gallant man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glorie.

I am sure the event or success can never state the Justice of my cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their souls.

Those

Those with me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths: all requiring obedience to my just commands, but to none under Heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they cal them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State: being such imaginarie reasons, for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being my Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of me and the Laws: first by unsuppressing the Tumults, after by listed Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Laws and Governours, which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them, some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with truth be applied only to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives,

and all that was dear to them in this world, who having no advantageous designs by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and my self, which lay upon their souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not, but he did through his mercie, crown many of them with eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a cause: The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds, and temporal ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happiness, while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyal fierceness could deprive them of, or without Repentance hope to enjoy,

They have often, indeed, had the better against my side in the Field, but never I believe, at the bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Consciences, where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their owne thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave me.

Whole

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the injoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and mine enemies supervive, who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or new convicted consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against me, and the Laws established, in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Countrey doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruin and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might joyn true piety with the sense of their loyalty, and be as faithfull to God and their own soules, as they were to me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews or truth of pietie on the other side were sufficient to dispen-
pence with, or expiate the defects of their dutie and Loyaltie to me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for me.

I never had any victory which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Absolom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any defeat, which made Me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but only restore the Laws and Liberties of My people, which I saw were extremely oppressed, together with My Rights, by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When providence gave Me, or denied Me victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the war, then to bring My enemies to moderation, and My friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, then over My self. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice, by contrary winds to winnow us: That, by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for peace shewed, that I de-

delighted not in War : as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My innocency forbade Me to fear a war : but the love of My Kingdomes commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this war of nothing, but this, that I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeelded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the war; I wish only a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings. The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine Justice to be quiet : we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroy one another : for, the most prosperous successes on either side, impair the welfare of the whole.

Those victories are still miserable, that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing out pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in
our

our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these civill Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern my People, and they may learne better to obey both God and me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and my enemies, by patience; which was Christ's conquest; and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repining, which follow our disastrous events, when going forth in our strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayest have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore, both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end, of these civill distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm, and blessed peace to my Kingdoms.

Stirre up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sinnes of our Peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of Warre; so for the sins of Warre thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of Peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the bloud of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingness and grief, hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that precious bloud, which hath been shed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Jesus Christ. Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. Upon the Reformation of the Times.

NO glorie is more to be envied then that, of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour me so far, as to make me an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was wel pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the indulgence of times and corruption of manners might have depraved;

depraved; so I am sorry to see after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion settled; which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance the passions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the publike, and the infinite scandall of the reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church; what novelties of Schisms, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confusions in sacred administrations; what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppressions of the Clergie; what injurious diminutions and persecutings of me, have followed (as showres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are witnesses, and with my self, sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and furie, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publick sense; so that the study to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Councils, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, then it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free consultation of

of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen: the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so it's like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applied (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen: nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*: nor with freedome and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they doe.

For I cannot think so many men cried up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great & dangerous innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgment & practice, or to the common interest and honor of all the Clergy, & in them of Order, Learning, and Religion, against examples of all Ancient Churthes; the Laws in force, and my consent: which is never to be gained,
against

against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in Precepts, there the constant and Universall practise of the Church, in things not contrarie to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive command, is the best rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbyterie, what with reason or discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacie; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had easiely followed moderate Counsels; and such (I beleeeve) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much gravity and formality, to carry on other mens designs: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations, and discontents.

The specious and popular Title of Christs Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, they may as easily be fined on new models, as fair colours
may

may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windowes, which time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civill, not religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posterity in mind, to thank God, for that clearer Light, wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publike service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say *Amen*: or what adventure he may make, of seeming, at least, to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The setting forth also of old Catechisms, and Confessions of Faith, new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some foure or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like are the effects of popular, specious; and deceitful Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly,

disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of piety, morality, charity, and good order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedy the inconveniencies and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last make it their unanimous work, to do Gods work, & not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customes, would not run into new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a civill war; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make my self and all my Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should forme and set up: If there had been as much of Christ's Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdom, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name used in the pretensions, to reforme all to Christ's Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glory, the Churches Good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publike Reformers had need first act in private,

vate, and practise that on their owne hearts, which they purpose to try on others: for Deformities within, will soon betray the pretenders of publike Reformati^ons, to such private designs as must needs hinder the publike good.

I am sure the right methods of reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion: for next to *Fear* God, is *Honour* the King.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it, since as I owne Mine from him, so desire to rule for his glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions, both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God, by a miracle of mercy, create Light out of Darknesse, Order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

Thou

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, in stead of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls.

That we may in clearness of judgment, and uprightness of heart be means to reform what is indeed amiss in Church and State.

Create in us cleane hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy direction, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakness of their judgments; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousness, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy Providence in just and lawful waies shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward Piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward Peace.

21. *Vpon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they know not how much with honour and civility to use it:

Nor

Nor do I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vertue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my Papers; the freedom and secrecie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expose them to publike view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I study to approve to Gods Omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresSES, or popular captations, which some men use in their speeches and expresses; I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divided between the love & care I have, not more to preserve my own rights, than to procure their peace and happinesse, and that extreme grief to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to see my constancie to my wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather honey where the Spider sucks poison.

That

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies; no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens design, like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury, my expressions can do them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of my chief purposes cannot be so obtained, nor mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happy composition of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to my own, then my peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those my Letters may be convinced, that I can both act and mind mine own, and my Kingdoms Affairs, so as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwaies been very loath should be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others;

others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evil Counsellors.

Its probable some men will now look upon Me as my own counsellour, and having none else to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my Self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conscience, w^{ch} they labor to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing Me to think their Counsels to be other then good for Me, which have so long maintained a War against Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the vulgar; with whom prosperity gains the greatest esteem & applause; as adversitie exposeth to their greatest sleighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were always the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs, as those that most rout and waste My Credit with My People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish

all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyaltie to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Laws & the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit, is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life and my Kingdoms; first I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign: By exquisite methods of cunning & cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of my Honor, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartial justice can & will over-rule the most perverse wils and designs of men; he is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers: how much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of Respect and Honor, which they owe to their KING, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that wame & dishonor which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publick flattery and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they
do

do but remember how God blest the modest respect & filial tenderness which *Noub's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justify *Cham's* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; w^{ch} curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonorable actions to please the Vulgar, & confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable or prosperous, who thought to expose me to the highest reproach & contempt of my People, forgetting that duty of modest concealment which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any real uncomeliness, which, I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing my private Letters, to have rendred me as a vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingencies of humane affairs; make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the Counsel of Achitophel, turning it to *David's* good, & his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my People.

I must first appeal to my Omniscience, who can witness

which my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent unto the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a cloke.

Thou seest how mine enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine anointed.

But give me a heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the injoyment of that Power and Majestie, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that Crown of Christian Patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse and Honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majestie; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdom, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majestie, which becomes the place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. Upon His Majesties leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.

Although God hath given me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left me any place where I may with safety & Honor rest my head: shewing me that himself is the safest

safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus: that I may cast my self, and my now distressed Affairs upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellor, and commands Me to study My safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my troubles. Happily God may make them a means honorable to compose them.

This my confidence of them, may disarm & overcome them; my rendring my person to them, may engage their affection to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against me, but for me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and my Conscience both my Counsellor and my Comforter: Though I put my body into their hands, yet I shall reserve my soul to God and my self; nor shall any necessities compell me, to desert mine honour, or swerve from my Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusuall

confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to desert me of all Military power to defend my Self, but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affairs, & so necessary may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have Adhered to me, and apply to those that have Opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, & to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no less solicitous for my Friends safety, then mine own; chusing to venture my Self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is some skil in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to go over, then to contest in vain.

I must not study to re-inforce my Judgment, and fortifie my mind with Reason and Religion, that I may not seem to offer up my Souls libertie, or make my Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded my consent to their demands.

I thank God, no success darkens or disguises
Truth

Truth to me; and I shall no less conform my words to my inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my Self weakned, while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward Fortune shall rob me of that light: what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morositie to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing which Reason and Religion bids me denie.

I shall never think my Self less then my Self, while I am able thus to preserve the integrity of my Conscience, the only Jewel now left me, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the only Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: to the protection of thy Mercy I still commend my Self.

As thou hast preserved Me in the day of Battle, so thou canst still shew Me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto Me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct Me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of clouds, to over-shadow and protect Me; be to Me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest that it is not any perversnesse of will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made Me thus far to hazard my Person, Peace and Safety, against those that by force have sought to wrest them from Me.

Suffer not My just Resolutions to abate with My outward Forces; let a good Conscience waies accompany Me in My solitude and desersions.

Suffer Me not to betray the powers of Reason, & that fortress of My Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for Thee.

Lead Me in the paths of thy Righteousnesse, and shew Me thy Salvation.

Make My waies to please Thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

23. Upon the Scots delivering the KING to the English, and His Captivity at Holmeby.

YET may I justifie those Scots to all the world in this, That they have not deceived Me; for I never trusted to them further then to men: if I am sold by them, I am only sorry they should do it: and that My price should be so much above My Saviors.

These are but further Essays which God will have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix Me on himself, who never faileth them that trust in him; though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them, yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods Providence commands Me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy My Self, which I lose, while I let out My hopes to others.

The solitude & captivity to which I am now reduced, gives Me leisure enough to study
the

the words vanky and inconstancie.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin; nor gain that of me which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that have got my Person into their power; since my Soul is still my own: nor shall they ever gain my Consent against my Conscience.

What they call obstinacie, I know God accounts honest constancie, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellors with Me, but a good Conscience in Me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to my Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish Me, not more a King, and far less both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which though it have a little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be my snare ; nor shall the love of any liberty entangle my soul : Better others betray me, then my self : and that the price of my liberty should be my conscience ; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice , who neither know how to use worthily what I have already granted ; nor what to require more of me but this , That I would seem willing to help them to destroy my self and mine.

Although they should destroy me , yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me , as the peace of my Conscience , the Honor of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People ; which my word may injure more then any War can do ; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Laws wil by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of my Subjects ; if I bury them not by my Consent , and cover them in that grave of dishonor and injustice , which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or Death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thralldom.

After-times may see, what the blindness of this Age will not, and God may at length shew my

my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them; happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them, from whom I pray God deliver them, what ever becomes of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with Me, whose presence is better then life; and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own Me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse me still with Reason as a Man; with Religion as a Christian; and with Constancie in Justice, as a King.

Though thou suffereest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve Me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self, and which cannot be taken from Me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boil over my passion to any impatience or sordid fears.

There may be many say of Me, there is no help for Me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon Me, and I shall neither want Safetie, Libertie, nor Majesty.

Give Me that measure of Patience and Constancie, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained: O be not thou far from Me, lest my Enemies prevail too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon Me for good, that they that hate Me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted Me: establish Me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have Me.

Be

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee : yea and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviors merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth ; though thou ledest me through the vail and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

24. Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains.

WHen providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil comforts and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my Chaplains, whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have cause to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Praiers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time : so reaping by their pious help a spiritual harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more their service and assistance of men judiciously, and soberly devout. The

The solitude they have confined me unto, adds the wilderness to my temptations: For the company they obtrude upon me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had bin no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: But to deny me the ghostly comfort of my Chaplains seems a greater rigor & barbarity, then is ever used by christiāns to the meanest prisoners, & greatest malefactors, whom though the justice of the law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But my agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all mine to be.

They that envie my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian: while they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul.

Other sense, Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh repulses I received, as to that request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristianness of those denials might arise from a displeasure

sure some men had to see me prefer my own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety w^{ch} may be in them, yet I cannot think them so proper for any present comforters or Physitians, Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotional compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with me, and for me; since their judgments standing at a distance from me, or in jealousy of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Praier or other holy duties, as is meet, & most comfortable; whose golden rule, & bond of Perfection consists in that of mutual Love and Charitie.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some comforters more miserable then misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perswade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to despair of Gods mercy; and by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the heart of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred function, that I have hazarded my own interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie,

to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandfomly requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, then their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and meannesse, which they have brought upon their calling and persons.

I pity al of them, I despise none: only I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My special Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgment, & most sutable to My affection: For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mans Praiers, then to be forced, or seem to comply with those Petitions to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own Soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldnesse, nor pious nonsense; but such an humble and judicious gravitie as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate both of Gods Majestie, the Churches Honour, and his own vilenesse; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine mercie for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all Praiers,
that

that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humilitie to God, or charitie to men, or respect to the dutie.

I confels I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may join my heart unto, then I can be of any mans extemporarie sufficiencie: which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions; so I allow its just libertie and use in private & devout retirements; where neither the solemnitie of the dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness as to the outward manner of performance; Though the light of understanding, and the fervencie of affections I hold the main and most necessarie requisites both in constant, and occasional, solitarie, and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds with as much reason to prefer the service of my own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one I have been alwaies educated & exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composition
and

and use, which is alreadie as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Cōmon-praier sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose Pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing against & contemning the Government, and Liturgie of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the wo of *Va soli*, then to that of *Va vobis Hypocritis*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Deniers sufficient of my Self to discharge my dutie to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal & Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms & Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honor where rightly placed, then any of those the Roman Emperors affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished

distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorry to find My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Sovereignty; would no lesse enforce Me to live many Moneths without all Praiers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unless I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightened, and affections lesse distracted, then those which are encombered with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed & consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to God, every private believer is a King and a Priest, invested with the honor of a Royal Priest-hood; yet as to Ecclesiastical order, & the outward policy of the Church, I think confusion in religion wil as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher,

Preacher, as it wil in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modest, & I think to more pious Principles: the consciousness to My spiritual defects makes me more prize & desire those pious assistances, w^{ch} holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to w^{ch} God hath been pleased to suffer som of my subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more, but my life to take from Me: & to leave Me nothing to desire, w^{ch} I thought might less provoke their jealousy & offence to deny Me, then this of having some means afforded Me for My Souls comfort & support. To w^{ch} end I made choice of men, as no way, as I know, scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning & piety, no less then for their loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but only this, that they may seem too able, & too well affected toward Me and My Service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve my self; though I must confess I bear with more grief & impatience the want of My Chaplains, then of My other Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from My Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary afflictions, but from those more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me, and help my Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Oratour or Instructor.

To Thee therefore, O My God doe I direct my now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which aloue can both enlighten my darkness and quicken my dulness.

O thou Sun of righteousness, thou sacred Fountain of heavenly light and heate, at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulness: From thee all-sufficiency: By thee is all acceptance Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest; rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestling of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred duell, when he had none to second him but thy selfe; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once bless with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldness of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladness, worshipping thee in the unity of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a cole scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and increase the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of prayes might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoking Flax, do not despise the weakness of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no less desire.

O let the hardness of their hearts occasion the softening of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafness encline thine ear to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear, nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot helpe me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise

Thou, O Lord canst at once make me thy Temple, thy Priest, thy sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my self to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou O Lord didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handfull of meal in the vessel

vessell should not spend, nor the little oyl in the cruse fayl the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned, now fail my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometimes felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholesome food for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse then to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, then teaching me; whose mouthes are proner to bitter reproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction. which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation, O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under a colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens balmes break my head, nor their Cordialls oppress my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickedness.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious, hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KINGs solitude at Holmeby.

Give ear to my words O Lord, consider My Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my crie, my King

King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extreme to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my finnes before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition, the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, and my Peoples sins: which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory; and my Subjects good: thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy graces towards me.

I come far short of Davids piety; yet since I may equall Davids afflictions, give me also the comforts and the true mercies of David.

Let the penitent sence I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrowes of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesse, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleevd to see

see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sinns of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy Anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Justice must be stretched out still; Let it I beseech thee be against me, and my fathers house; as for these sheep, what they have done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee; so hear and accept this Vow, which make I before thee,

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdoms; In continuing the light of thy Gospel, and setting thy true Religion among us:

In restoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Justice:

In suppressing the many Schismes in Churches, and Factions in State:

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the sword of these Civill Warres.

If Le

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedom of publick
counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the
insolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting
any thing against my Conscience: and especially from con-
senting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy
Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in
doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name
before my People.

Then shall thy Glory be dearer to Me then My Crownes;
and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and
power bee my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my King-
domes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own as the
rightfull succession, so the mercifull restoration of My
Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with Peace, Safety and
Honour, to My chiefest City, and My Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my
hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and My very
Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of
Christian Charity, which I now make unto thee O
Lord.

As I doe freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have
offended me in any kind; so my heart shall never be ad-
versary against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any
particular injury done to me.

Wee have bene mutually divided in our nation all
divisions; for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Re-
deemer, have I purposed this in my heart; That I will
use all meanes in the wayes of unfeigned and indignant,
which may most fully remove all feares, and bury all je-
lousies in forgetfulness.

Let thy mercies be toward me & mine, as my resolution

of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

*Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips
Blessed bee God, who hath not turned away my Prayer,
nor taken his mercy from me.*

*O my Soule commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him,
and hee shall bring it to passe.*

*But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I
that I should charge thee foolishly?*

*Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed
bee thy name.*

*May my People and thy Church bee happy, if not by
me, yet without me.*

*26. Upon the Armies Surprisall of the King
at Holmeby, and the ensuing distractions
in the two Houses, the Army, and the
City.*

WHat part God wil have me now to act
or suffer in this new and strange scene
of affa res, I am not much solicitous; some little
practise will serve that man, who onely seeks to
represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprise of me tells the World, that a
KING cannot be so low, but he is considerable;
adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This motion like others of the Times, seemes
excetnrique and irregular, yet not well to be re-
sisted or quieted: better swimme downe such a
stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins,
which lately one womb enclosed, the younger
striving

striving to prevail against the elder : what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seeke to catch for themselves.

So impossible it is for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider ; by how much they go farther from the point of Union.

That the builders of *Babell* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder ; But for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen* ; and sounds too like the fury of those Zelots, whose intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that Citie.

Well may I change my keepers and Prison, but not my captive condition, only with this hope of bettering : That those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot bee utterly against the Liberty of their KING ; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in reason deny to mine.

In this they seeme more ingenuous ; than the Presbyterian rigour, who sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest exactors of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without my consent.

'Tis a great argument that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals

service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their owne will and Power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not bee thought over-modest, or timorous to carry on any design they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both, and see their former sinne in the glasse of the present terours and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of divine justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sinne, but adde sinne to sinne, till the later punish the former; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice? the Members of both Houses who at first with-drew, (as My selfe was forced to do) from the rudenesse of the Tumults, were counted Desertours, and outed of their Place in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit
of

of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men : now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them ? complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Army : such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary insolencies, and Betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law, where men look more to present Advantage than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice ; while they are Judges of others they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies ; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves : most impregnablely against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Lawes cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pitie ; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them doe, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them only scared and

humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loyalty to me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I looke, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My prayers and teares, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty; fatal blindnesse frequently attending and punishing wilfullnesse, so that men shall not bee able at last to prevent their sorrowes who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they bee suffered to enjoy the comforts who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquitie are not farre from becoming insolent enemies; there being nothing harder than to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round, and circle of fancy; than in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publique consistency; whether I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Lawes, than to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and ex-

travagant wayes, like violent motions in a nature, soone grows weary of it selfe, and ends in a refractory fullennes: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so farre excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, & interests demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publick peace, that they should be satisfied, as farre as is just, no man being more prone to consider them than my self; though they have fought against me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain my selfe, my Lawes, and my Kingdomes, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou O Lord, who art perfect unity in a sacred Trinitie, in mercie behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the strivings of My People, and make me to see how much they need My Prayers and Pity, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of My Kingdomes distractions

Discover to all sides the waies of Peace, from which they have swerved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Lawes.

Make Me willing to go whether thou wilt lead Me by thy Providence; and be thou ever with Me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make Me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that

I may at last enjoy, ba- sity and tranquillity which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique Peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them; That they cannot want Enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they bee long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their owne consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against Me.

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall bee their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The eyes they have denied Me in My saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not My blood bee upon them and their children, whom the fraud and faction of some, nor the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But thou O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Me by My sufferings, which

which have more in them of thy mercie, than of mans cruelty or thy owne justice.

27. To the Prince of Wales.

SON, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set downe the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may bee so far usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed; wherof, a pious is the best use can be made; & they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of my self, and useful to You. That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure my Cause by the Success; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, because they have so farre lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as my selfe; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense then of mine owne.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most Princes; that you have begun, and

now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Morall and Politicall, are cōmonly better planted to a thriving as trees set in winter) then in the warmth, and serenity of times ; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty ; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honour, or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publick good ; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David & Rehoboam* : The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdome, the other softned by unparalleld prosperity of *Solomons* Court ; and so corrupted to the great diminution both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer ; whom adversity, like cold whether, drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles le Bon* then *de Grand*, good, then great ; I hope God hath designed you to both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, & Gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments,

dowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings ; the Sovereign disposer of the Kingdomes of the world , who pulleth down one , and setteth up another.

The best goverment, & highest Sovereignty you can attain to is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his word and spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good : Also in the dispensation of civill Power, with Justice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous ; at least it will keep you from being miserable ; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all , yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which Center of true Happinesse, God , I trust, hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope drawn me neerer to himselfe. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally dranke, which I looke upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfullnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you (as I hope you are already) well-grounded and settled in your Religion : The best profession of which, I have
ever

ever esteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated. yet I would have your owne Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may bee judiciously your owne Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwise expressed, and often offered, though in vaine. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your Soules, then your Kingdomes peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angell of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights; When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeale.

So that, unlesse in this point You be well settled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretentions of reforming matters of Religion; for that seeme, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affection,

Station, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publique Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well settled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to bee of their Kings Religion) as it loseth you in others; who thinke themselves, and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmnesse & charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affaires in point of Power that you shall not need to feare to flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in neede of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity than, from those, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their intrest is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Jacobs* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esaus* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the
Presbyterian

Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years; so compliant they were to publick order : nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements : But as soone as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflamations) so did all, at first, who affected any novelties adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master : till time & military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages invited them to part stakes, & leaving the joynt stock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State, but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern Religion & the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectuall snppressing Errours and Schismes, which seeme at first but as a hand-bredth, by Seditious Spirits, as by strong winds, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of Truth and Unitie in Religion : the next main hinge on which your prosperitie

prosperity will depend, and move : is ; That of civill Justice , wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdomes , to which you are rightly Heire , are the most excellent rules you can governe by ; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, libertie, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majestie and prerogative of any King, who, owne his People as Subjects, not as Slaves ; whose subjection, as it preserves their propertie, peace, and safety , so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous liberties, which consists in the injoyment of the fruits of their industry , and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weakenesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety, to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigour of the Laws ; there being nothing worse than legall Tyranny.

In these two points the preservation of established Religion, and Laws. I may (without vanity) turn the reproch of My sufferings, as to the worlds censure , into the honour of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of My own conscience ; The Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing else to object against Me but this ; That I preferre Religion , and Lawes establish-
ed

shed before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publique Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removall of these pressuures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in My soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church; and my People, and to You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of my Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after my decease bring You, as I hope he will; my counsell and charge to You, is, That You seriously consider the former, really, are objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be alwaies more constant and impartiall to the interests of Your Crowne and Kingdome than any mans.

Next beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised & oppressed Party into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration which attendeth all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Lawes and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keepe up solid piety, and so the fundamentall Truth (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of the best, and the most too ; who though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of Virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions ; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that Act not in any conformity to the Laws established in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws and to Me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designs, shall discover themselves ; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty : As the Wolf is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when
he

he shall appeare no better then a Wolf under sheep's cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsell to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any designs (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety and virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so you shall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodnes) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the virtuous constancy of their King.

When these mountaines of congealed factions shal by the sun-shine of Gods mercy, & the splendor of Your virtues be thawed and dissipated; & the abused Vulgar shall have learned that none are greater Oppressors of their Estats and Liberties, and Consciences, then those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them onely to usurp Power over them; Let then no passion betray You to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all Princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart

smart of the cure may not equall the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Lawes; and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwayes propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive those, that have deprive me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments: for this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, then any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so; not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errours, and our injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality sets you beyond any Duell with any Subject, so the noblenesse of Your
minde

minde must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more concious you shall be to your own merits upon your People, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages : You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of Gods mercy and My Subjects affections towards You; both which I hope You will study to deserve, yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me ; and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to Us ; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, your own Honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with me : I do require and entreat you, as your Father, and your King, that you
never

never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell you, I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to the best in the world : not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the speciall notion ; as Reformed : keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanesse of fantastick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both of Doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need som sweetning, or polishing ; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand ; if some mens precipitance had not violently demanded such rude alteration, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandall of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or your own thought in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late Warre against the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England* : which never gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse

to present threatning petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution : but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeale abate your value and esteem of true piety; both of them are to bee known by their fruits; the sweetnesse of the Wine and Fig-tree is not to bee despised, though the Brambles and Thornes should pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversion, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminish Your greatnesse, but will rather bee as interchangings of love, loyaltie, and confidence, betweene a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have beene other then such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions : The sad effects which wil no doubt, make all Parliaments after this, more cautious to preserve that Freedom, and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in the mutual & common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can bee more happy for all, then in faire, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute

bute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publick consent ; without Tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholesom food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Rights, but God in his severest Justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sin and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse ; I hope God will give Mee, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us to want, as well as to wear a Crown ; which is not worth taking up or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious termes.

Keep You to true principles of piety, virtue and honor, You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principall point of Your honor will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, my Wife, who hath many waies deserved well of Me and chiefly in this, that having been (a meanes to blesse me with so many hopefull Children ; all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with Me and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt and fortified in my own Innocency, and Grace) that hee would be pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbor rather to these tossed
and

and weather-beaten Kingdoms ; a Repairer by your wisdom, justice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedness of some men have so far ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State, to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons ; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honor, Conscience, or Lives.

When they have destroyed Me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven: so I beseech God not to powre out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deserted Me, or ingaged against Me, through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horror will be their first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone ; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe you will find them truly zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you, which was due to Me.

In sum, what good I intended, do you perform, when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since my restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse you, and establish your Kingdoms in righteousness, your Soule in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction; let my memory ever, with my name, live in you; as of your Father that loves you, and once a King of three flourishing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour not onely with the Scepter and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of my Crowne, the Priviledge of Parliaments, the Liberties of
my

my people, & my own conscience which I thank God, is dearer to me then a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore me to my rights, I cannot despair either of his mercy, or my peoples love and piety.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

*Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-
Address, and HIS MAJESTIES closer
Imprisonment in Carisbrook-Castle.*

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my death: for I know, there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives me the space, but mans cruelty, that gives me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me as a man, I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, & cruell passions, whose envy or enmity against me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my prosperity made me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an eclipse which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy daies.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled, and the speciall horror of it, as to my particular, much allayed: for, although my death at present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the verie dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can looke upon all those stings, as unpoisonous, though sharp; since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death against them, which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorn and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might
make

make me sometime even desire to die; if I did not consider, that it is the greatest glory of a Christian life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, & patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us over-live our own fates, while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though as a King, I think my self to live in nothing temporall, so much as in the love and good will of my people: for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope, I am not in that point as yet, wholly dead: notwithstanding, my enemies have used all the poison of falstie, and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and loyalty, which is in my Subjects, and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left me but little of life, & only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me, having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable.

But, O my soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience, and magnanimity in a good cause, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valor, it argues pusillanimitie to desire to die out of weariness of life, and a want of that heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher or lower: whose totall absence is best recompensed with the dew of heaven.

The assaults of afflictions may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lion, but they yeeld much sweetnesse to those that dare to incounter and overcome them: who know how to over-live the witherings of their gourds without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a man, is certain: that I may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects being helplesse spectators, my enemies insomuch Revilers and Triumphers over me, living, dying and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwise as to mans cruelty: however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my life is the object of the Devills and wicked mens malice: but yet under Gods sole custody and disposall: Whom I do not think

think to flatter for longer life, by seeming prepared to die: but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to me. I confess, it is not easie for me to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers me to be tempted, which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness of a barbarous assassination, or in those greater formalities, whereby my enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may be, seek to add (as those did who crucified *Christ*) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp & artifice, so with less pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make my death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign, who know that no Law of God or man invests them with any power of Judicature without me, much lesse against me: and who being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour my preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their perjury.

It is indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign: wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publike troubles, must by shedding my blood seem to wash their own hands in that innocent blood, where-

of they are now most evidently guilty before God and man: and I believe in their own consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane spirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiors, then this, the *Guilt of their unjust usurpation*, notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied only to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designs, who despaired indeed of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, my greatest fault must be that I would not either destroy my selfe with the Church and State by my Word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of mine could ever yet satisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever thinke; that Kingdom of brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitlesse either to God or man) is like to thrive, till watered with the Royall blood of those whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done: I doubt not but my innocency will find him both my protector and my Advocate, who is my only Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not only for the eminency of his power and Majestic above them;
but

but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patroness of Law, Justice, Order and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to me by those I have lived to see since my troubles; in which God alone (who only could;) hath manie waies pleaded my cause, not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their only security, who have cause to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance afterwards destroy them.

My greatest conquest of death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed

up death in the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not only the honor to imitate his example in suffering for righteousness sake, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over my Destroyers: By which, I thanke God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my blood to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christs blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding mine.

At present, the will of my Enemies seems to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactour, of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancie of their own safety by my danger, and the security of their lives designs by my Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my death are embred with my blood.

The

The will of God hath confined, and concluded mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercie I believe, will more then infinitely recompence, what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory, and exchanged the shadowes of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdom with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessary tyrannie of my Destroyers will sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyrannie against me; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who do not only pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

These know, how to excuse my failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes;

Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe of foster tempers, and lesse advantaged by my ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evill dealings against me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails, been so cruell as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once murining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain, of their ill gotten and worse used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust is made with God; before whose exact Tribunall I shall not fear to appear, as to the cause, so long disputed by the Sword, between me and my causlesse Enemies: where I doubt not but his righteous judgment will con-
fure.

fute their fallacy, who from worldly success (rather like Sophisters, then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the only clear, safe and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my cause, and clearness of my Conscience before God and toward my people will carry me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sails of Pirates, doth not justify their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedom and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion, in its Doctrine, Government, and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of success, overborn them all, as some men have now evidently done, what ever designs they at first pretended.

The

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more chearfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) then they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies, then my Friends; while those wil put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, wherewith these desire, I might stil contend.

I shall be more then Conqueror through Christ enabling me, for whom I have hitherto suffered; as he is the Author of truth, order, and peace, for all which I have been forced to contend against Error, Faction and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, and the effect of others sins, as men, both against God and me; yet as I hope my own sins are so remitted, that they shal be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious

glorious and durable over them, then their ill managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned; Both which, I pray God they may obtain, that my temporall death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable then the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me over-board, though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease that storm, themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation, whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my soul with my body: of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seem'd, and taught others to despair, they have only discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed my access to the Throne of Heaven.

Where

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou, O Lord, art both the just afflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee, than by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in my soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall never fear, nor feel any evil; though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man: to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me, as a man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers: so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from me, but thou hast taught me as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errors of my life,
 so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I
 may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ
 unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my destroyers forget their duty to thee and me,
 yet do not thou O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gain-
 ing my Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not only resisted my just Power, but wholly
 usurped and turned it against my self, though they may de-
 serve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many, that Crucified
 him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet
 willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my Murtherers
 louder then the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their
 sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own
 souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me,
 while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power a-
 gainst me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities a-
 gainst me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me
 as very false, so very cruell, who pretending to preserve
 me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitful men,
 but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my
 charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprin-
 kle their polluted, yet penitent souls with the blood of thy
 Son, that thy destroying Angell may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to
 entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious
 Kingdom of thy infinite mercy, at least receive both me and
 my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same
 Redeemer, we shall live far above those ambitious desires,
 which beget such mortall enmities,

When

When their hands shall be heaviest and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the Arms of thy tender and eternal mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment may be repaid in thy ever blessed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

F I N I S.





The mind of the Frontispice.

BEfore three Kingdomes-Monarch three Crowns lie;
Of Gold; of Thorne; of Glory; bright, but vain;
Sharp, yet but light; eternall to remain:
O'th World; of Christ; of Heav'n: At's Foot, Hand, Eye,
He spurnes, accepts, expects. Kneels, yet doth Reign.

A Sun, a Rock, a Palm-tree: (Emblems fit)

The Sun in Clouds: the Rock in waves o'th Sea:

The Palm-trees boughs depres't with weights: Yet see,

The Sun shines out more bright, the Rock's unsplit:

Unmov'd: the Palm-tree flourishes.

So H E E.



Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

THE
POURTRAICTURE
OF
HIS SACRED
MAJESTIE
IN HIS
SOLITUDES,
AND
SUFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

More then Conqueror, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Printed in the Yeer, 1649.





A perfect Copie of
P R A Y E R S
 U S E D

By His MAJESTY,
 In the time of His SUFFERINGS.

Delivered to Doctor J U X O N,
 Bishop of *London*, immediately
 before His Death.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.

O Powerfull and Eternall God! to whom
 nothing is so great that it may resist; or so
 small, that it is contemned; look upon my mi-
 sery with thine eye of mercy, and let thine infi-
 nite power vouchsafe to limit out some propor-
 tion of deliverance unto me, as to thee shall
 seem most convenient; let not injury, O Lord,
 triumph over me; and let my faults by thy hand
 be corrected; and make not my unjust Enemies
 the Ministers of thy justice: But yet my God, if
 in thy wisdom, this be the appest chastisement

L

for

for my unexcusable transgressions; if this ingratefull bondage be fittest for my over-high desires; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yeild unto thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what sorrow thou wilt have me to suffer: Only thus much let me crave of thee (let my craving O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from thee) that by thy goodnesse which is thy self; thou wilt suffer some beam of thy Majesty so to shine in my mind, that I, who acknowledge it my noblest Title to be thy Creature, may still, in my greatest afflictions, depend confidently on thee. Let calamity be the exercise, but not the overthrow of my vertue: O let not their prevailing power be to my destruction: and if it be thy will that they more and more vex me with punishment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickednesse have such a hand: but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution ever to serve thee, without fear or presumption, yet with that humble confidence which may best please thee; so that at last I may come to thine eternall Kingdom, through the merits of thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

*A Prayer and Confession, made in and for the
times of affliction.*

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is only thy goodnesse that admits of our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary duty to confesse our sins freely unto thee; & of all men living, I have most need, most reason so to do, no man having been so much obliged by thee, no man more grievously offending thee: that degree of knowledge which thou hast given me, adding likewise to the guilt of my transgressions. For, was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy worship, to be set up in *Scotland*? And injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the dictates of a right informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of thy mercies; for I know my repentance weak, and my prayers faulty: Grant therefore mercifull Father, so to strengthen my repentance, and amend my prayers, that thou maiest clear the way for thine own mercies, to which O let thy justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved afflictions.

afflictions. In the mean time give me patience to indure, constancy against temptations, and a discerning Spirit, to chuse what is best for thy Church and People, which thou hast committed to my charge : Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for thy Son Jesus Christs sake, our only Saviour. *Amen.*



A Prayer in time of imminent danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though my sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of thy anger, than so great a deliverance, as to free me from my present great danger ; yet, O Lord, since thy mercies are over all thy works, and thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfained repentance come to thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish my transgressions, to despaire of thy heavenly favour : wherefore I humbly desire thy divine majesty, that thou wilt not onely pardon all my sins, but also free me out of the hands, and protect me from the malice of my cruell enemies : But if thy wrath against my hainous offences will not otherwise be satisfied then by suffering me to fall under my present afflictions, thy will be done ; Yet with humble importunity, I do, and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit,

Spirit, that my cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through my weaknesse or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and inlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearnesse I may shew forth thy truth, and manfully indure this bloody Tryall, that so my sufferings here may not onely glorifie thee, but likewise be a furtherance to my salvation hereafter: Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. *Amen.*



Munday 29. January, 1648.

A Relation of what passed betwixt His Majesty, the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, the day before His Death.

His Majesties Children being come to meet Him, He first gave His blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*; and bad her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto Him, as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to Her, Sweet-heart you'll forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: And powring forth abundance of Tears, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very steadfastly on Him.) Mark Child what I say, they will cut off

My Head, and perhaps make thee a King : But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brother *Charls* and *James* do live ; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last : and therefore, I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child, sighing, said, *I will be torn in pieces first.* Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.



*Another relation from the Lady Elizabeths
owne Hand.*

WHat the KING said to me the nine and twentieth of Jan. 1648. being the last time I had the happiness to see him; he told me, He was glad I was come, and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing. Because he feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my selfe for him ; for that would be a glorious death that he should die ; it being for the Lawes and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop *Andrewes* Sermons, *Hookers Ecclesiasticall Politie*, and Bishop *Lauds* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also ; and commanded Us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them : He bid me tell my Mother, that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last. Withall he commanded me and my brother to be obedient to her. And bid me send his blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with commendation to all his Friends : So after he had given me his blessing, I took my leave.

Further,

Further, He commanded Us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to him, and to those that gave them power, and he feared also to their own soules; and desired me not to grieve for him, for he should die a Martyr, and that he doubted not but the Lord would settle his Throne upon his Son, and that we should be all happier, then we could have expected to have been, if he had lived: With many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THe King said to the Duke of *Glocester*, that he would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: He told him that he heard that the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon his Blessing, never to accept of it, unlesse it rebounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.



An Epitaph upon King *CHARLES.*

SO falls that stately Cedar, while it stood,
 That was the only glory of the wood ;
 Great *Charles*, thou earthly God, celestially Man,
 Whose life, like others, though it were a span,
 Yet in that span, was comprehended more
 Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
 Thy heavenly virtues, Angels should reherse,
 It is a theme too high for humane Verse :
 He that would know thee right, then let him
 Upon thy rare-incomparable Book, (look
 And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
 Hee'l find thee *King*, and *Priest*, and *Prophet* too:
 And sadly see our losse, and though in vain,
 With fruitlesse wishes, call thee back again.
 Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse.
 Tho' there were neither Monument, nor Verse.
 Thy *Sufferings* & thy *Death* let no man name
 It was thy *Glory*, but the Kingdoms shame.



J. H.



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